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expectation of seeing every institution in the land immediately, or in the near future, range itself within its proper limits, but in order to define more clearly than has hitherto been done the aims toward which instructors ought to strive. If the universities cannot rid themselves of all elementary instruction, let them at least make known what portion of the course they retain under protest, and what they consider their legitimate work.

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## THE GERUNDIAL CONSTRUCTION IN THE ROMANIC LANGUAGES.

### I.

#### INTRODUCTORY.

HE who enters upon an investigation in philology, where the subject concerns the language of early writers, whose works have been preserved to us in manuscript form, is not infrequently met on the very threshold of his inquiry by a consideration which must in no small degree tend to dampen his ardor—I mean the uncertainty, in the event of his not having access to the manuscripts, of the value of the forms given by the editions he intends to follow, as compared with the actual forms which may have been used by the authors themselves. The notorious negligence of the middle-age copyists and their frequent tampering with the texts of their authors, either to satisfy their own personal whims or through ignorance of the language or dialect of the writers whose productions they essayed to multiply, are too well known to need much comment here. Add to this that even some of the men of the present day who undertake the editing of such manuscripts, are often as capricious and dishonest in making up their editions as the old copyists themselves, and the investigator may well have cause to doubt the value of his conclusions, even when most carefully drawn. Mr. L. Clédât has just given us a fine specimen of this *cacoethes emendandi* in his edition of the *Chanson de Roland* lately published. (Paris, Garnier, 1886.) Acting on the assumption that “la majorité des romanistes” consider the *Roland* of French origin, which, to say the least, is very questionable,

he proceeds to francisize the Oxford text on the model of the French of the eleventh century, from which modern French proper is derived. The result is not simply a “nouvelle édition,” as he styles it, but likewise an “édition neuve.” But this method of procedure is not confined to this species of writings; it is a mania that has extended to more recent authors as well. Very few of the ordinary editions of modern classic authors, for instance, would be trustworthy for philological investigation. We all know of Bentley’s unhappy attempt at emending the text of Milton. Some copyists and editors seem to have adopted the principle that any decided deviation in point of spelling or syntax, not current at their time, was an indication that the author did not know what was right and must needs be corrected by his more fortunate successors. In this way many of the most important works of early writers have been lost to us, as far as the original form is concerned, and their value for philological purposes is accordingly diminished in proportion to the amount of mutilation suffered. As an additional instance of how one of the old French authors has been treated by a modern editor, may be cited the case of the *Roman de Rou*, edited and published over fifty years ago by Pluquet.

Wace’s poem is preserved in a manuscript known as the Duchesne MS. (because copied by André Duchesne from an earlier MS.), which belongs to the “Bibliothèque Nationale” at Paris. Pluquet professed to have made this MS. the basis of his edition; but a new edition has been, within the last decade, gotten out by a German savant (Hugo Andresen), who found, by a comparison of Pluquet’s text with Duchesne’s, that by no possibility could he have consulted (or at least followed) this MS. for the readings which he attributed to it, since many of these readings are not to be found there, even when he refers specially to Duchesne in his foot notes. A close examination showed that Pluquet had been guilty of the most unparalleled dishonesty; that instead of basing his edition on Duchesne’s text, he had followed in great measure the worst of the three existing copies, made from the Duchesne; and further that he had even taken the most unwarrantable liber-

ties with this—changing words, phrases and whole sentences, leaving out and adding lines, just as it suited his fancy, and that too, where there was not the slightest excuse for it; as neither the sense, the grammar nor the meter offered any difficulty. Observe now the baneful consequences resulting from this criminal proceeding of Pluquet. The *Roman de Rou*, being very characteristic from a linguistic standpoint, has played an important part in determining many points of Old French syntax and morphology. Perceiving the frequent occurrence in Pluquet's text of certain forms of the present indicative, third person singular of verbs of the first conjugation (as *acord, mant, kuid* and *kuit*), Raynouard accepted them as the normal forms whereas the manuscript gives only *acorde, mande, cuide*. Error once engendered usually propagates itself with the same persistency as truth; and so Diez, following in the wake of Raynouard in trusting to the fidelity of Pluquet, gave, in the first edition of his "*Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*," *mand, pens, os, kuid*, as abbreviated forms of the third singular, and he continued faithfully yet innocently to reproduce them in the two subsequently revised editions of his grammar, which he published during his life-time. (See the "Dritte, neu bearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage" of 1872, vol. II, p. 232). It may be added that even the 5th edition (1882) contains these forms originally cited by Diez from Raynouard.

Little inaccuracies of this kind may be of trifling import, as far as the general results of French philological research are concerned, but they teach a lesson which it behooves every investigator to keep before his mind: namely, that philology is not, as some would have us believe, an exact science; because its results are largely arrived at through channels subject to all the influences of human weakness and the ravages of time; and that the apparent facts of to-day may turn out to be errors in the brighter light of the dawn of the morrow.

The reasoning in the following pages, where early works are cited, has been based, in the main, on examples drawn from texts that have passed through the mill of the canons of

textual criticism. The correctness, therefore, of certain details and statements depends on the genuineness of the texts consulted, many of which have not always been found as satisfactory as could have been desired.

Quotations from old authors have usually been accompanied by references, where this was convenient. In the case of modern writers, it was not thought necessary to give more than the name, since the correctness of the illustrative examples will be recognized by any one acquainted with the languages from which they have been taken.

B. means Bartsch, and refers to his *Chrestomathies*, unless it is otherwise stated.

## II.

### FORMS, THEIR DERIVATION, &C.

The origin of the various forms of the gerund offers no difficult problem in point of phonetics. Most of the languages and their dialects kept very close to the Latin originals, the Italian (properly so-called) and the Portuguese probably differing less in details than the other members of the group. Only one of the four cases of the Latin gerund, however, has survived in the Romanic tongues; and this, in view of its earliest syntactical relations, grammarians have supposed to be the ablative, although no positive proof can be offered in favor of this; as, excepting the genitive, any of the other cases would give us the same forms. The fact though of the gerund's usually expressing causal, instrumental, temporal and other adverbial relations, must be a potent argument in favor of its ablative derivation.

The Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Wal-lachian all retained the terminal *nd* of the parent speech. The first three likewise retained the final *o* of the Latin, if we accept the ablative as the original source; whereas the Wal-lachian gerund, through the general tendency of the end-vowels (especially *o*) to go over into *u*'s appears as *ndû*. As this *û* is always silent in pronunciation, except where the gerund is accompanied by a conjunctive pronoun, which is tacked on to the end and forms one word with it, it is common to drop it at the present day, and we have *nd* as the ending of all the conjugations. The vocal elements preceding the terminations *ndo* and *ndû* are sometimes

determined by the Latin vowels, but more frequently by the vowel preceding the *r* of the infinitive in the respective languages, this vowel being occasionally modified in accordance with certain regular phonetic changes observed under similar conditions.

Examples: Ital. cantare, cantando; vendere, vendendo; servire, servendo: Sp. cantar, cantando; vender, vendiendo; partir, partiendo: Port. cantar, cantando; vender, vendiendo; partir, partindo; pôr, pondo: Wal. a cantá, cantandû; a tace, tacendû; a alege, alegendû; a audî, audindû. These are the usual methods of formation for these four languages; special or exceptional cases we need not stop here to canvass.

It may be parenthetically noticed in passing, that, like the French, some of the Italian dialects have taken as a model the first conjugation in the formation of their gerunds, but strange to say, and in this they differ from the French, as will be seen, they have observed the regular method for their present participles. In the "Cronica deli Imperadori," a Venetian work of 1301, I have noted these forms: crezando, vezando, volgiando (volendo) abiando, sapiando, siando, condugando, tragando, digando, vignando, tegnando, fazando, metando, portando, avrando (aprendo), morando, (only zermendo 28a); but participles: resplendente, continente, dormiente, reverente, obediante.

This same phenomenon is observable in the Genoese dialect, as may be seen from the following forms taken from some "Rime genovesi della fine del secolo XIII e del principio del XIV.": fazando, temando, vegnando, digando, odando, scrivando, discorrandò, sbatando, respondando, prometando, sentando, bevando, ferando; but, obediante, ardente, corrente, spuzente, and even parlente, instead of parlante.

These gerunds in *ndo* and *ndû* remain invariable for all genders and numbers. According to Barcianû, however, the Wallachian gerund is susceptible of inflection to indicate gender and number, whenever treated as an adjective. "Wird aber das Mittelwort [gerundium] der gegenwärtigen Zeit als ein Beiwort betrachtet, dann ist es der Biegung unterworfen, wie jedes ideale Beiwort; z. B. gemend'a

omenire trebue ajutata=omenirea, ce geme der leidenden Menschheit muss geholfen werden." It may be questioned whether it is correct to treat these inflected forms as identical with the gerund. There is no analogy for it in the other Romance languages, for the instances of inflected gerunds in the French were not brought about by a disposition to inflect this part of speech, but through confusion—that is, misuse of the present participle on account of the formal identity of the two. This could not have been the case in the Wallachian, as the participle and gerund were too clearly defined. It may be further remarked that the Wallachian presents but very few cases of the apparently inflected gerund, and I would venture the following suggestion as a possible explanation of the phenomenon: namely, that they are not gerunds but the remains of the Latin gerundive (or future participle in *dus*), which of course always agreed with the noun-subject in gender, number, &c.

Kühner is of opinion that the gerundive first had the meaning of a present participle: "liber legendus=ein Buch das gelesen wird, in welcher Bedeutung das Gerundiv wirklich gebraucht wird." It was not until later, he shows, that the idea of necessity was developed.

Regarded from this standpoint they would not be peculiar to the Wallachian. Instances are quite common in Italian:

E quante in pace hai sparte  
Opre ammirande.

(Vincenza da Filicaja)

Del memorando acquisto  
A te l'onor si serbe.

(Ditto)

E non ardî il mio genio  
Sui venerandi avelli.

(Goffredi Mameli)

Colpo meno escrando  
La natia sede invadere.

(Ales. Paerio).

These are evidently the Latin participle in *dus*; and similar words are to be met with in Spanish and Portuguese; but they are not essentially different from the verbal adjectives in:

Acum o sęptemână doamna N.....era tristă  
si suferindă.

(Vasilie Alecsandri)

Si nu voiescî a-î demite flămândi.

(Math. XV, 32).

The objection may be raised to this explanation, that it supposes in the Wallachian a change from a passive to an active meaning; true, but in becoming inflected, it loses its power at once to govern a case, in other words it becomes intransitive. This implies the retention of a certain amount of its passivity, and would only be analogous to the passive participle assuming an active meaning, when constructed with the preposition *de*: *usor de portat*, easy to carry; *casa aceasta este de vindut*, this house is for sale, (to sell, like the Eng. to let). In German we have the reverse: *ein zu verkaufendes haus*.

Moreover, the distinction between gerund and gerundive, active and passive, has not been settled beyond a peradventure; for while in the general outlines of their functions they may be pronounced, the one active and the other passive; still individual instances arise, which point to a latent consciousness, as it were, of the identity of these two parts of speech. Krüger, though maintaining the activity of the gerund, concedes that it may sometimes be passive in force (so finden sich auch die Gerundia in einer solchen [passiven] Bedeutung gebraucht), and cites, among other examples: "*spes restituendi nulla erat*" and "*memoria excolendo augetur*." This is significant as showing the possible identity of gerund and participle in *dus*; and efforts have been made to prove this, but not with complete success. The most that can be said is, that they both, at times, desert their proper provinces. A very decided case of this is seen in Aeneid IX. 7:

Turne, quod optanti divum permittere nemo  
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultrò.

Here *volvenda* has the force of *volvens* and is analogous to the Wallachian usage.

There is found likewise in Plautus a construction, imitated by Varro (who affected an archaic style) and Lucretius, in which the neuter of the participle in *dus* is used actively, at least what amounts to the same, although the grammarians would account for it otherwise.

Mihi hac nocte agitandum est vigilias.

(Plautus, Trin. IV. 2.27)

Hos veteranos [boves] ex campestribus locis  
non emendum in dura ac montana.

(Varro, R. R. I. 20).

Nunc ratio nulla est restandi, nulla facultas,  
Aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendumst.  
(Lucretius, De Rer. Nat. I. 110).

We shall, too, see further on, that, in Merovingian Latin, the participle in *dus* was used actively and made to govern the same case as its verb.

This may not prove my thesis with reference to the Wallachian gerund adjectively employed, but it is strongly suggestive. It certainly is not easy to see, how a word, which expressed only adverbial relations and which, moreover, was virtually a noun in an oblique case, could have acquired an adjective use. In fact Diez, although quoting with approval from the passage of Barciant above given, says somewhat inconsistently: "*Diese Casusform [Ablativ] erweiterte allmählich ihren Bereich auf Kosten des Part. praes. aber nur des verbalen: die adjective Bedeutung kommt ihr nicht zu, vielmehr lehnt sie sich wie der Infinitiv an ein Verbum oder auch appositionell an ein Substantiv. Man sagt z. B. it. un fanciullo giuocante (che giuoca) aber un fanciullo si divertiva giuocando; altsp. una virgen durmiente, aber fuiste virgen durmiendo é velando (im schlafen und wachen) Flor. I. 6; fr. une femme mourante, aber une femme parla en mourant.*"

This is a distinction which it behooves us to keep constantly before our minds, when speaking of the gerund. The real gerund is not an adjective modifier and consequently never changes its form. When in Purgatorio IX. 38, we read: *trafugò lui dormendo in le sue braccia, dormendo* does not actually (though logically it does) agree with *lui*; it is to be interpreted: *in sonno* or *nel atto di dormire*. Other cases may be analysed in the same way. As in the Cid: Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, Despues que ganó á Valencia Como bueno guerreando, Vivia á placer en ella, where we may translate: as a good warrior, while it is grammatically: as one good in warring.

The present participles, where they exist in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Wallachian, all end in *nte*, the antecedent vowel generally depending on the same conditions as for the gerund. It is only the Italian, though, that is capable of creating participles for all its verbs. The Spanish, Portuguese and Wallachian have, for the most part, lost them. Those that are

left are used only as nouns, adjectives or prepositions. In no case do they perform any of the functions of the verb. In the early Spanish and Portuguese writers a few sporadic cases are found of participles retaining their verbal force; but they are not sufficiently numerous to establish any principle, and they are hardly to be regarded as belonging to the syntax of these languages. *Lusiads* V. 22 is an undoubted Latinism.

F pelo c.o chovendo em fim voou,  
Porque co' a agua a *jacente* agua molhe.

Tasso shows a great fondness for these Latinisms; and of writers of a recent day I believe it may be said that Silvio Pellico uses the present participle oftener with a verbal force than is customary in modern Italian. Like the Latin these participles have but one form for both masculine and feminine, the only inflexional change being to indicate number.

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#### A LIST OF THE STRONG VERBS IN PART II. OF AELFRIC'S SAINTS.

In the Preface to the new edition of his *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, Sievers says: "In the determination of the absolute chronology of O. E. sounds and forms, nearly everything remains to be done." In the belief that every effort, however slight, should be made to remove this reproach, I have jotted down the strong verbs represented in Part II. of Aelfric's Lives of the Saints, preparatory to noting some interesting facts concerning both the strong and the weak verbs of this text. The arrangement follows that of the O. E. Grammar, §§ 382, 396:

##### FIRST ABLAUT CLASS.

*drifan*, *belifan*, *scrifan*, *flitan*, *slitan*, *gewitan*, *writan*, *bidan*, *gnidan*, *ridan*, *swican*, *huigan*, *sigan*, *stigan*, *scinan*, *arisan*, *gerisan*, *spawan*, *writan*, *ðeon*, *wreón*.

The preterit *frán* points to an infinitive *fríman*. *Oferswíðan* is generally weak.

##### SECOND ABLAUT CLASS.

*créopan*, *géotan*, *hléotan*, *scéotan*, *spréotan*,

*béodan*, *dréogan*, *fléogan*, *léogan*, *céowan*, *céosan*, *hréosan*, *léosan*, *fléon*, *téon*, *scéofan*, *brúcan*, *búgan*.

##### THIRD ABLAUT CLASS.

*bindan*, *fundan*, *windan*, *blinnan*, *ginnan*, *winan*, *singan*, *springan*, *swingan*, *drincan*, *sincan*, *swincan*, *limpan*, *iernan*, *helpan*, *belgan*, *swelgan*, *mettan*, *sweltan*, *gielðan*, *wurpan*, *ceorfan*, *beorgan*, *wurðan*, *feohtan*, *bredan*, *berstan*.

*Beornan* appears to be always weak.

##### FOURTH ABLAUT CLASS.

*helan*, *stelan*, *beran*, *brecan*, *niman*, *cuman*.

##### FIFTH ABLAUT CLASS.

*etan*, *fretan*, *metan*, *sprecan*, *wreacan*, *giefan*, *gietan*, *cweðan*, *séon*, *biddan*, *licgan*, *ðicgan*, *sittan*.

##### SIXTH ABLAUT CLASS.

*galan*, *grafan*, *wadan*, *dragan*, *sacan*, *\*wacan*, *sléan*, *ðwéan*, *standan*, *swergan*, *hebban*, *scieppan*.

##### REDUPLICATING VERBS.

###### CLASS A.

*dréðan*, *létan*, *slépan*, *hátan*, *fón*, *hón*.

###### CLASS B.

*feallan*, *weallan*, *healdan*, *wealdan*, *gangan*, *béatan*, *héawan*, *wépan*, *blówan*, *flówan*, *cnáwan*, *sáwan*.

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#### A PASSAGE IN GONZALO DE BERCEO'S *VIDA DE SAN MILLAN*.

The first two lines of stanza 153 read as follows:

Desent la mançibiella alegre e pagada  
Despidiose del *monge* que la avie sanada....

K. Hofmann (*Roman. Forschungen*, II, 354-5) says: "Die Bezeichnung *monge* ist ganz unpassend, denn der h. Millan, der das lahme Mädchen durch seinen Stab (*blago* für *baglo*) und seine Fürbitte geheilt hatte, war nie ein *monge*, sondern ein Einsiedler und um die Zeit der Heilung ein *recluso*. .... Die Emendation ist selbstverständlich. Es muss *menge* (*medicus*) heissen, worauf schon der Vers selbst *que*